

The Republican.

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MASSACRE AT CADIZ.

A MASSACRE has occurred at Cadiz in Spain, which equals in atrocity the late massacre at Manchester. The circumstances were not dissimilar. At Manchester, an immense number of people, men, women, and children, are suffered peaceably to congregate, and when the conflux is at its height, the reverend magistrates send their blood-hounds among them in order to make the greatest possible havock. At Cadiz, the people were summoned to assemble to witness the proclamation of a new constitution,—they assemble with the greatest hilarity, just as at Manchester, and when the assembly is at its height, the soldiers, who, like those at Manchester, have been previously intoxicated with brandy, sallied forth at the instigation of the Bishop, and other reverends, to massacre the people indiscriminately. It appears that about twice the number have been killed and mutilated at Cadiz, of those who were the dead or living victims at Manchester. This horrid affair has tarnished the otherwise glorious revolution of Spain, and it is much to be feared that the massacre will not stop here. We know sufficient of the character of Ferdinand to be assured that he will scruple at nothing in conjunction with his priests and monks, to effect a counter-revolution. Report says, that Mina has intercepted a letter from Ferdinand to Louis the *Desired* of France, in which the former states that his opinions are not changed, that he is not well-disposed towards the constitution, that he would shake it off if he possessed the means, and that he had merely given a nominal acceptance to keep himself on the throne until circumstances to effect a change should become favourable. If this be any thing more than rumour, we shall find cause for rejoicing at the intercepting of the document. We know that Mina is not blinded with Kingcraft. The whole of Spain appears to be in an agitation, and the sooner the Cortes assemble the better, as nothing can find the force of law until it has their approbation. I am of

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opinion that the provisional Junta would have acted very prudent if they had removed Ferdinand from all authority until the PLEASURE OF THE PEOPLE had been made known by their representatives. Again, I say that celerity is the life of revolution; and when a nation is revolving, nothing that can possibly serve it should be delayed a moment. I am further of opinion, that at such a moment as the present in Spain, every man, and woman too, that is willing, should be armed and organized.

The interest of the people cannot suffer by the whole being armed and organized. It is when they are disarmed that a despot or junta of despots have the power to scatter destruction among them by a handful of military who have been trained to their purposes. At a moment of convulsion every person capable of wielding a pike or a gun should immediately prepare themselves, and organize their movements with their neighbours. If they are not required to act on the offensive, they may, like the people of Cadiz, find them necessary to act on the defensive. The whole of Europe appears in a state that was never before witnessed. The philosopher might have contemplated such a state by the progress of the Printing Press; and the moment has arrived when the great majority of the inhabitants of Europe are impressed with the necessity of a representative system of government.

I have carefully perused the Spanish constitution, and find it extremely verbose. I should like the privilege of applying the pruning hook to it: however, I am content that the state of the representation is such, that the will of the people must preponderate. There will be a paper war in Spain for some years to come on the various branches of its constitution. The root I am satisfied is good, and will receive no injury by the lopping of the branches; and I am further satisfied, that no *bastard slips* will thrive if grafted on it. It is a noble document if we consider the state of religious bigotry in Spain. The inquisitors it appears have fled—they are already in France, and no doubt on their way to England, calculating on a support from John Bull's purse bearer and steward. In the first number of the third volume of the Republican, which will be published on the 28th of April, I purpose to commence an examination of the whole of the Spanish constitution with critical remarks. I shall take it, article by article, and give it a full, fair, and candid review.

I am of opinion, that the basis of constitution should be both brief and comprehensive, so that no quibbling lawyer

should be able to distort it. The only necessary resolutions before the meeting of the representatives of the people appear to me to be:—That the government shall emanate from the people—That the people shall act by representatives—That every male, arrived to the age of twenty or twenty-one years, having been six or twelve months resident in one place, shall be deemed a citizen, and privileged to give his voice for a representative—That no office or place of trust shall be valid until sanctioned by the authority of the representatives of the people—That as no individual can possess the right of arranging the mode of chusing, or the number of representatives to be chosen, a national convention should be summoned, which should receive a delegate from every twenty thousand males, divided into districts by the existing sheriffs of the counties, agreeable to the situation of the people. That this convention should transact no other business, than form the state of the representation, and time and place of meeting. That every other necessary resolution should be the result of the deliberation of the representatives of the people established by the convention.

To draw up a constitution consisting as the Spanish constitution does of 384 articles, and to call on the people to swear to observe it before it has been put in practice, appears to me to be a rash and premature proceeding. Every article should have been the result of the deliberation of the representatives of the people, and then the people would have needed no oaths to observe it. What is the oath of such a man as Ferdinand? He would violate the oath he has taken to observe the constitution to-morrow, if he had the means; and the Pope and his confessor would be ready to absolve him a thousand times over. I consider the practice of swearing and making oaths to be a vice in society, and produces more evil than good. The good and honest man will be guided by justice and a love of truth, the bad and dishonest man will not be guided by his oath; therefore an oath is altogether vague and superfluous. It is the legitimate child of superstition, got on the body of Hypocrisy. The Spanish authorities have sworn to the present constitution in which many things are resolved that cannot possibly exist with other resolutions: for instance, they have sworn that no other religion shall exist in Spain, but the true catholic and apostolic religion, of which, without question, the Pope is to be considered the head, as the successor of St. Peter. Such a resolution might have been necessary six or seven years back, to conciliate the religious disposition of Spain, but such a resolution cannot exist and be supported

in Spain with its new constitution, without producing much bloodshed, distracting the whole country, and finally producing another revolution, which most certainly would be attended with very different consequences to the present. I consider the resolutions in the Spanish Constitution on matters of religion to be as a poisoning branch, which, if not speedily lopped off, will envenom the whole tree. Nothing ideal should exist or be countenanced in legislating for a free people. Let every man follow what notions of religion he thinks proper. The Charter of France has prudently provided for this.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.

About 60,000 of the labouring classes it appears have struck from work in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and Paisley, with a resolution not to return to it until they have recovered their political rights. The 1st of April was the day chosen to proceed in this resolution, and we sincerely hope that their plans and intentions will not prove to have been organized by some government agent. Some little attempts have been made on the part of the people to possess themselves of arms, and a dreadful note of preparation is going on on each side. The public papers seem to treat the efforts of 60,000 mechanics with contempt, because forsooth there happens to be 2 or 3000 soldiers in the neighbourhood. We beg leave to say, that if 60,000 men unarmed, and unorganized, were to take possession of the houses of Glasgow, they would be more than a match for the whole standing army of Great Britain and Ireland, unless the latter destroyed the town by their artillery. It is the province of the supporters of existing powers, right or wrong, to ridicule the efforts of any attempt to revolutionize them. We have had a good specimen of this conduct in the affair of Spain, where every effort was treated with contempt until Ferdinand himself was obliged to submit to the will of the people: let it be recollected the Spaniards began with about 2000 men, and succeeded by taking up a good position. Proclamations and counter-proclamations have been issued in Scotland, but for the first four days it appears that no blows have taken place, with the exception of one man killed in attempting to enter a house for arms. We dislike this Irish method of procuring arms. It also appears, that va-

rious parts of the north of England are in a similar convulsive state. Our rulers cannot expect the general disaffection and dissatisfaction to subside, until they concede what is necessary to preserve the peace of the country, and furnish the labouring classes with the means of obtaining sufficient food. In a large manufactory in Glasgow a magistrate went with a party of military to arrest two men charged with making pikes, when the whole of the workmen cheered the military, and told them that if they wanted Reformers they might as well take the whole of them. This spirit cannot be subdued. We subjoin a proclamation issued in Glasgow and Paisley for which a reward of near a thousand pounds is offered for the author.

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Friends and Countrymen,—Roused from that torpid state in which we have been sunk for so many years, we are at length compelled, from the extremity of our sufferings, and the contempt heaped upon our petitions for redress, to assert our rights, at the hazard of our lives; and proclaim to the world the real motives, which, if not misrepresented by designing men, would have united all ranks—have induced us to take up arms for the redress of our common grievances.

The numerous public meetings held throughout the country has demonstrated to you, that the interests of all classes are the same. That the protection of the life and property of the rich man is the interest of the poor man, and, in return, it is the interest of the rich to protect the poor from the iron grasp of despotism; for, when its victims are exhausted in the lower circles, there is no assurance but that its ravages will be continued in the upper: for, once set in motion, it will continue to move till a succession of victims fall.

Our principles are few, and founded on the basis of our constitution, which were purchased with the dearest blood of our ancestors, and which we swear to transmit to posterity unsullied, or perish in the attempt. Equality of rights (not of property) is the object for which we contend, and which we consider as the only security for our liberties and lives.

Let us show to the world that we are not that lawless, sanguinary rabble, which our oppressors would persuade the higher circles we are—but a brave and generous people, determined to be free. Liberty or death is our motto, and we have sworn to return home in triumph—or return no more!

Soldiers.—Shall you, countrymen, bound, by the sacred obligation of an oath, to defend your country and your king from enemies, whether foreign or domestic, plunge your bayonets into the bosoms of fathers and brothers, and at once sacrifice at the shrine of military despotism, to the unrelenting orders of a cruel faction, those feelings which you

hold in common with the rest of mankind?—Soldiers! turn your eyes toward Spain, and there behold the happy effects resulting from the union of soldiers and citizens. Look to that quarter, and there behold the yoke of hated despotism, broke by the unanimous wish of the people and the soldiery, happily accomplished without bloodshed. And shall you, who taught those soldiers to fight the battles of liberty, refuse to fight those of your own country? Forbid it, Heaven! Come forward then at once, and free your country and your king from the power of those that have held them too, too long in thralldom.

Friends and countrymen,—The eventful period has now arrived when the services of all will be required for the forwarding of an object so universally wished, and so absolutely necessary. Come forward, then, and assist those who have begun in the completion of so arduous a task, and support the laudable efforts which we are about to make to replace to Britons those rights consecrated to them by Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and sweep from our shores that corruption which has degraded us below the dignity of man.

Owing to the misrepresentations which have gone abroad with regard to our intentions, we think it indispensably necessary to declare inviolable all public and private property. And we hereby call upon all justices of the peace, and all others, to suppress pillage and plunder of every description; and to endeavour to secure those guilty of such offences, that they may receive that punishment which such violations of justice demand.

In the present state of affairs, and during the continuation of so momentous a struggle, we earnestly request of all to desist from their labour, from and after this day, the 1st of April; and attend wholly to the recovery of their rights, and consider it as the duty of every man not to recommence until he is in possession of those rights which distinguish the freemen from the slave, viz., that of giving consent to the laws by which he is to be governed. We, therefore, recommend to the proprietors of public works, and all others, to stop the one, and shut up the other, until order is restored, as we will be accountable for no damages which may be sustained, and which, after this public intimation, they can have no claim to.

And we hereby give notice to all those who shall be found carrying arms against those who intend to regenerate their country, and restore its inhabitants to their native dignity, we shall consider them as traitors to their country, and enemies to their king, and treat them as such.

By order of the Committee of Organization, for forming a Provisional Government.

Glasgow, April 1, 1820.

Britons,—God—Justice—the wishes of all good men are with us. Join together and make it one cause, and the nations of the earth shall hail the day when the standard of liberty shall be raised on its native soil,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

London, March 28, 1820.

SIR,

Your intention deliberately to examine the small Pamphlet I sent you, affords me considerable satisfaction. I thank you for this attention to my request and for the insertion of my letter.

I should think your information of Paine having written other theological works than those which have been published, is not generally known. I was not aware that he had put his pen to paper, on the subject of religion, after Bishop Watson had replied to his *Age of Reason*; but I did not attribute his silence to any change of opinion, for I have no doubt that he believed and inculcated the same sentiments to the last hour of his life. You assert, that Paine "had too great, too noble a mind to stoop to conciliate butterfly friends;" but where is the proof of it? He did stoop by refraining from publishing his reply to the Bishop, and his other essays. 'Tis rather strange his executrix should be so tenacious of his manuscripts: perhaps on her death, they will become the property of one who admires his sentiments and who will give them to the world.

The Apology to your political readers permit me briefly to notice. I disapprove with you of a religious establishment being connected with the government of a country, as the church of England. Innumerable evils result from the union of church and state, which are deplored by every real Christian in the land. "The Romans, by the destruction of Jerusalem, made way for the establishment of Christianity, which was not to be implicated with a political institution, but was designed to preserve a spiritual church, capable of administering to the moral and spiritual interests of men under every government."* Still I maintain that religion ought not to be confined to one's own bosom—it is of vast public importance. If a man knew a remedy for any specific evil, he ought to declare it, however some may differ from him. Paul, and other apostles; Luther, and other reformers; Whitfield and other preachers; Paley, and other authors, conceived that the prevalence of Christianity would be productive of the greatest possible benefits to mankind, and they disinterestedly laboured with all their energies and talents to spread it, wherever

* Dr. Gray's connexion betw Jewish and Heathen Authors.

they could. Christianity has been corrupted by its professors; many believe in it for gain only; and this has occasioned an odium to be cast upon its truths and precepts, that has multiplied the number of its enemies.

My disposition, my occupation, and my connexions in life, combine to render me unwilling to give you my name and address. There is undoubtedly a pleasure in reading the communications of those who sign their names—I have felt it: still it is rare to readers of periodical publications. I do not wish to be known. I shall refrain from offering any remarks at present upon your reply to Mr. Horne. I will read the whole of it with attention, and without prejudice, and after you have gone through the pamphlet, will inform you of the effect it may have upon the opinions of, Sir,

Your obliged Servant,

A. J.

In answer to our correspondent, we have to notice, that it appears from his remarks on Paine's Theological Works, that he has not read the edition that was published in 1819, or he would have known that Paine wrote and published several tracts, after Bishop Watson answered the second part of the Age of Reason. We have some doubt whether our correspondent ever read any portion of them; should this be the case, and should he wish to read them, on any address being sent to the place of publishing the Republican, for the Editor, accompanied with a *17.* note, we promise to send him a copy of Paine's Theological works, and also a copy of Palmer's Principles of nature. It is but fair, that any man who interesteth himself in a controversy of this kind, should seriously read the arguments advanced both for and against. Our correspondent observes, "that Paine did stoop to conciliate his butterfly friends by refraining from publishing his reply to the bishop and other tracts." Perhaps we were not sufficiently explicit in our observations on that head. We are not aware that Paine wrote any thing as a pamphlet after his return from France to America, which was about the year 1802 or 3. He left France disgusted at the sight of Liberty trampled down by the military despotism of Buonaparte. His reply to the Bishop was written in France about the year 1798 or 9. On his return to America he found that his Theological sentiments had rendered him unpopular among those on whom he had just claims of respect, and consequently, he passed the remainder of his days in a state of comparative obscurity. It is not to be denied that the turn of affairs in France drove him

to seek relief in the bottle; but experience teaches us, that such is the powerful effect of an incentive habit on the human mind, that even in our youth we find ourselves deficient in vigour to surmount it, although we know and feel its pernicious consequences. We would wish to draw a veil over the last ten years of the life of Paine, and take him only by his writings prior to that time. In fact, we have nothing to do with any thing but his writings in the present day. We have one consolation from his life, that his opinions were uniform to the last. If he had been as disposed to change, as many of his contemporaries were, he, no doubt, would have made a splendid figure under Buonaparte; but he hated the man and his conduct, and refused to acknowledge his authority as a sovereign. Paine had laid the basis of the representative system of government in America, and his mind could brook no other. Although his last hours were hours of torment, occasioned by an abscess, still the stamina of his political and theological principles, only quitted him with his last breath.

We cannot account for the non-publication of Paine's manuscripts, otherwise than by saying, that in New York and Philadelphia the inhabitants are generally averse to theological discussion, and possess more fanaticism than any other equal number of inhabitants in any part of the globe. We have been informed, that the priests have frightened Madame Bonneville from publishing them, and although she has offered them for sale, she asks no less a sum than 400*l.* for the Reply to the Bishop. We would have imagined, that throughout the United States no such thing as a complete collection of the published writings of Paine can be purchased. We had several orders from New York last summer for Paine's works. In the spring of 1817, a gentleman, a great admirer of Paine's writings, went to New York, and depending on purchasing a more complete collection of his works than he possessed in England, he neglected to take them with him, but what was his surprise on reaching America, and finding that the works of Paine were not on sale, and in some measure suppressed, not by the laws of the country, but by public opinion. This gentleman, after the most minute inquiry, said, that he did not think there were half a dozen persons in all the United States, who possessed a complete collection of Paine's works.

The observation of our correspondent that "religion is of vast public importance," we cannot assent to. That it is a public injury we really believe. Who that has read the history of Christianity, will venture to say that it has been a

benefit to any nation or society of people in which it has been adopted? The practice ever has been and continues to be in direct opposition to the theory. It is the fruitful mother of hypocrisy.—ED.

PROGRESS OF THE FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETIES.

An article in the Times newspaper last week, dated Warsaw, observes—"that the Circassians have been furnished with Bibles in their own language, by the Bible Societies, but unfortunately they have made them into cartridges." This is all reasonable enough, religion has ever been the handmaid of war, and the sacred writings could not find a more appropriate use, nor a more becoming alliance than to form cartridges for the purpose of destroying the human race. Is it not a fair question to ask, what has become of the christianity that was established in that part of the globe 15 or 16 centuries back? Any one would think, according to our priests, that wherever Christianity was planted, it became inherent in the soil, and could not be rooted out: but experience teaches us the contrary. Where is the Christianity once so famous in Asia and Africa? If our Bible Societies and missionaries are not on the alert, they will find it evaporate in Europe before they have established it in the New World. How many centuries more will it require to teach man the futility of attempting to make the human race uniform in their opinions on matters of religion? Experience seems lost upon him.

EDITOR.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

N. B. Nos. 18, 19, and 20 of the Deist are now published in one pamphlet containing the Life of David, or the man after Gods own heart. Price 1s. 6d.

CONTINUATION OF REPLY TO THE REV. THOMAS HARTWELL
HORNE'S PAMPHLET, ENTITLED DEISM REFUTED, &c.

From Page 415

I now proceed to the 4th chapter (Genesis), and as it commences with an observation, which, according to English notions of decency, might have been omitted; yet, as the whole book is interspersed with such tales and observations, I must once for all apologize to the reader, by saying, that it is essential to my object, that I should notice them in their true and literal sense; and in doing this, I must confess that I shall be under the necessity of putting such observations into this commentary, as I hope I should ever feel disposed to stifle in private conversation, even should it be among my own sex. When I consider that this book called the Bible, is the compilation of the inhabitants of the East, whose manners and conversation are such, that the inhabitants of this and similar frigid climates, consider them lost in luxuriousness, sensuality, and vice, I feel no surprize myself at the language and imaginary indelicacies which it contains; but I do feel surprize, when those who pretend to associate for the protection of morals and virtue, agreeable to English ideas, discountenance, at the same time, as vicious and immoral, all fair criticism on this book, under the pretence that it is sacred. The truth is my search and guide, as far as I can discern it, therefore, what I find immoral in the Bible, I shall censure as such; whatever I find obscene, I shall rather consider the country in which it was penned, than study to aggravate it by elucidation; and whatever I find good and exemplary, I shall carefully mark as such:—to be brief, as the Bible is filled with matter, good, bad, and indifferent, my commentary must be the same. I shall applaud the good, censure the bad, and strive to be humorous on the indifferent.

The first verse of the fourth chapter is as follows:—"And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the Lord." I shall merely observe on this, that it appears Adam was ignorant of the value of his wife, until she made him eat of the tree of knowledge; another proof of her superior wisdom! Milton has taken some pains to convince us of Adam's ignorance on this point, in his *Paradise Lost*; and in a stile not in unison with the other part of his work. I forbear to quote it. I proceed to the remainder of the first paragraph, from verse 2 to 8 inclusive. "And she again bare his brother Abel; and Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering, he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell. And the Lord said unto Cain, why art thou

"wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well,
 "shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at
 "thy door. And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule
 "over him. And Cain talked with Abel his brother: And it came
 "to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel
 "his brother, and slew him." This chapter evidently begins a new
 tale, written by a different hand from the two former tales. We have
 no proof in this chapter, that it is the Deity speaking to Cain: it is
 as likely to be some earthly lord; but my business is with the common
 and literal acceptation, therefore, I consider the Lord to be the Jew-
 ish Deity; and here we have a strong proof of the caprice attributed
 to him, for it appears, that Cain, as well as Abel, offered him the
 first fruits of their labour; and why the offering of the one was re-
 spected, and the other not, we are not informed, but merely told
 that it was so. Cain is represented as having shown an honest indig-
 nation, and the Lord is made to remonstrate personally with him, as
 it appears by the Bible, that angels were not antediluvian creatures,
 and that the Jewish Deity performed his own errands and messages,
 during the first two thousand years. Great importance is attached to
 this passage of the Bible, by those who adopt the doctrine of pre-
 destination and election, or that a chosen few only are to be admitted
 into the presence and society of the Jewish Deity and his family, in a
 future life. They quote the distinction made between Abel and Cain,
 without any visible reason, as a proof of this doctrine; but it some-
 how happens, that all those *electioneers* I have conversed with,
 have been favoured with an admonition that they are chosen and se-
 cure. Virtue is not an essential, nor vice an objection to their Deity,
 according to their doctrines. I must confess that I have lost myself,
 whenever I have attempted to fathom their ideas. Such opinions are
 the blessed effects of sacred books, of Bibles, Korans, and Vedas. I
 must again caution the reader not for a moment to imagine that I ad-
 mit the historical truth of what I am commenting upon: some of the
 later characters mentioned in the Bible might have existed; but even
 with those there is much fable mixed up with the history of their
 lives. I cannot pretend to draw the line where truth or fable begins
 or ends. The rule I take for my belief is, to receive that which is
 natural, and reject that which is supernatural. I recollect, that whilst
 a lad, I first read a book called "*The Death of Abel*," written by a
 German, and that I was much impressed with the narrative; and
 knowing that the ground work of the book was in the Bible, I be-
 lieved the whole to have been said and done as there represented.
 There are thousands of *grown-up children* who now believe the
 same, and all the pretty stories and discourses which Miss Hannah
 More has introduced into her sacred dramas, as a faithful representa-
 tion of what was said, sung, and done, by the holy men and women of
 old. Abel hath been represented as the first martyr, but to what he
 fell a martyr I cannot conceive, unless it was the caprice of the
 Jewish Deity. Just as many human beings fall victims to the whims
 and caprices of their earthly rulers, unpitied and unnecessary.

I proceed with verse 9th—"And the Lord said unto Cain, where is Abel thy brother? And he said I know not. Am I my brother's keeper? And he said, what hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now thou art cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand; when thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth." There is scarce any thing in this curse or sentence worthy notice, save those brilliant figures, such as "the voice of thy brother's blood," and "the earth opening her mouth to receive it." This Jewish Deity seems to have spent his spleen on the ground, and to have threatened it with sterility, when both Adam and Cain offended him.

"And Cain said unto the Lord, my punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth; and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me." *Queritur*--How many lives had Cain? "And the Lord said unto him, therefore whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any one finding him should kill him." The first question which arises here is, of whom should Cain be afraid, since there was no man on earth but himself and his father Adam? Can Mr. Horne perceive any contradiction here? Again, doctors of divinity have differed as to what kind of mark was set upon Cain, some have asserted that his colour was changed to black, whence the negro race have sprung, but a difficulty is again started here, as Noah and his family according to the bible history must have pro-created the present race. I find the easiest method of solving this difficulty is to say, that the tale is fabulous.

"And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden." The Lord is here again represented as having his residence fixed to one spot of the earth. I am inclined to think that the writer of this tale had no other meaning than an earthly Lord. It might also be asked what can the land of Nod mean, surely it is not too much to suppose, that no other part of the earth could be distinguished, save that which Adam and his sons had tilled. "And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare Enoch; and he builded a city, and called the name of the city, after the name of his son Enoch." Another doubt is excited here how Cain obtained a wife, since we have not read of Eve bringing forth any females. I presume the Jewish priests have left us in the dark on this subject, for had they given daughters to Eve, their connection with their brothers would in later times have been termed incestuous, and rather than introduce so dangerous a precedent as sanctioned by their deity in holy writ, they have thought it more prudent to leave this part of the fable obscure. "And unto Enoch was born Irad; and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael; and Methusael begat Lamech. And Lamech took unto him two wives; the

name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ." This again appears an anomaly to me; as we have not any other account in this bible history of music being known to the Antediluvians: the writer and compiler of this tale had not calculated on the destructive effects of the deluge that was to follow: but, setting aside the deluge, is it probable that such instruments as harps and organs were invented so early as the eighth generation of mankind? Again, "And Zillah, she also bare Jubal-cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron: and the sister of Jubal-cain was Naamah." Here is another proof of fable: who will believe that when there did not exist a thousand people on the face of the globe, that they had explored the earth for metals, established furnaces for melting them, and were capable of converting them into implements for use? As I am not aware of the geographical position of the land of Nod, I cannot pretend to say whether it produced iron, and copper and zinc for the composition of brass or not. "And Lamech said unto his wives, Adah and Zillah, hear my voice; ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech; for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt: If Cain shall be avenged seven fold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold." It has puzzled even our priests to say what Lamech had done, and why he made this pompous and important oration to his wives. If a string of unconnected and unmeaning sentences be a proof of inspiration and divinity then does the bible exceed all other books that have been written. After eight generations we still find Adam in his vigour. I presume it was from the benefit of the forbidden fruit! "And Adam knew his wife again; and she bare a son, and called his name Seth: for God, said she, hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew." If Milton had not informed us of the contrary, we are led by the bible to consider Adam a very abstemious man, and that he felt no other love for women than the desire of propagating his species. "And to Seth, to him also there was born a son, and he called his name Enos: then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." The last observation I am apt to think is the late interpolation of some priest as it appears that both Adam and Cain had frequent interviews with the Lord. I have scarce an observation to make on the 4th chapter. I have inserted much of the latter part, because I shall have in the next chapter to compare the genealogy from Cain with that from Seth. The priests have introduced thus early the custom of offerings unto the Lord: a few observations on this head may not be amiss. The custom of sacrifice is no doubt almost as ancient as the association of mankind. In different societies it has been varied both in the manner of offering and the animal offered. Human beings have at various periods, and in various societies, been considered fit objects both to gratify and appease the deity. Almost every other animal hath in its turn been also considered as a fit and necessary

offering. There is not a doubt but the priests of all societies have been the authors of this wickedness and absurdity, and are generally to be found the only persons who have derived any advantage from it. To think for a moment that the Great Supreme Being delighteth in animal sacrifice, or that man shall destroy by fire any portion of the fruits of the earth to gratify him, is an abomination to his name and attributes: this is indeed a blasphemy towards the Deity. Thousands of human beings have been sacrificed in this manner both young and old, and particularly innocent infants, and we shall always find that it has been at the instruction and the instigation of the priests. We perceive that the priests of Europe have increased their art and subtlety with the increase of knowledge and the decay of superstition, and instead of requiring the destruction of any thing, they now say their Lord will be satisfied with the tenth part of the produce of the earth, and the tenth part of all animals be given to them, and it is further a scandalous and degrading fact, that the laws of England do in the present day, authorise the priest to rob the industrious cultivator of the earth of the tenth of his produce, and after the king has taken his taxes, the priest his tithes, and the landlord his rent, the most useful member of the community finds himself and family without the necessaries of life. Kings and priests are justly called the scourges of mankind.

I now proceed with the 5th chapter, where we begin the world again, and in a manner somewhat in contradiction to the former accounts: this again is evidently a tale by a new hand, drawn up for the purpose of making a genealogy from Adam through Seth to Noah, leaving Cain and Abel out of the question. The very first sentence is a proof that it originally formed a book or the commencement of a book to itself, it is thus: "This is the book of the generations of Adam." A title which unquestionably was prefixed to the following genealogy. "In the day that God created man in the likeness of God made he him; male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created." This paragraph combines the contradiction of the 1st and 2nd chapter or two former accounts of the creation and origin of man, and has also a corroboration of my assertion, that the word Adam among the early ages signified no more than our present word Man. This writer after saying, male and female created he them, adds, and called their name Adam, in the day when they were created.

The writer of the present account commences his genealogy with dates and distances of time, of which we have not yet read, save in the six days of the creation, and the seventh day of rest which it appears the priest thought necessary for the occasional congregation of the people, that they might the better imbibe his delusion. I have now to extract the whole of the remainder of the 5th chapter. "And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth: and the

days of Adam after he had begotten Seth were eight hundred years; and he begat sons and daughters: (Quere what were their names) and all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years; and he died. And Seth lived an hundred and five years and begat Enos; and Seth lived after he begat Enos eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters; and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died. And Enos lived ninety years and begat Cainan: and Enos lived after he begat Cainan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Enos were nine hundred and five years: and he died. And Cainan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalaleel: and Cainan lived after he begat Mahalaleel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters. And all the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died. And Mahalaleel lived sixty and five years, and begat Jared: and Mahalaleel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Mahalaleel were eight hundred and ninety five years: and he died. And Jared lived an hundred and sixty two years, and he begat Enoch: and Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two years: and he died. And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: and Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty five years: and Enoch walked with God: and he was not: for God took him. And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven years, and begat Lamech: and Methuselah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years; and he died. And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years, and begat a son; and he called his name Noah, saying, this same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed. And Lamech lived after he begat Noah five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy and seven years: and he died. And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth." My object in extracting this genealogy of long-lived Antediluvians is to show the probability of the genealogy of this chapter being the same, with a few literal alterations and additions, to that of Cain in the former chapter. We find that in the present day, in England and other parts of Europe, the same names are variously spelt, and I am inclined to think that some Jewish scribe or priest has purposely made this new genealogy from Seth, to avoid, what might appear like an odium in having descended from Cain. I contrast the two genealogies, only beginning with Cainan in the second.

Genealogy from Cain.

Cain,
 Enoch,
 Irad,
 Mehujael,
 Methusael,
 Lamech,

Genealogy from Seth.

Cainan,
 Mahalaleel,
 Jared,
 Enoch,
 Methusaleh,
 Lamech.

It will be observed on the first glance, that the six names on each side are very similar, only shifted a little in their position; and that only in the name of *Enoch*, in the genealogy from Seth, which should change places with *Mahalaleel*. In any other instance, it might be argued that brothers' children are often called by the same names, but here it is impossible, because we are told that Cain became a fugitive and a vagabond before the birth of Seth, and was separated entirely from his father's family. It is not at all probable that the names on each side would have been similar for six generations, without even an interview taking place between the parties. I account for it this way, that the whole of the tales we have found hitherto in the Bible, were drawn up from loose traditions, by different persons, and that the compiler of the 5th chapter has made a more plausible account than any of the others, by omitting the most objectionable passages of the former tales. The names of females are altogether omitted in the 5th chapter, also the names of Cain and Abel, and the writer and compiler evidently meant that Seth should be considered the first born son to Adam, by the following words: "And Adam lived an hundred and thirty years, and begat a son, in his own likeness, after his image; and called his name Seth." Now, no objection can be made to the great age of Adam before he begat Seth, because we find that Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, lived to a still greater age before they begat sons. The whole antediluvian account is a mixture of tales that contradict and clash against each other. The translation, as it hath been termed of Enoch, is scarcely worth notice: it is of a piece with the rest. It may afford an observation which I shall often refer to as I pass along, and that is, that the Jews had no idea of a soul and its immortality, before they were carried captive into Chaldea, and learnt it from that people. I am ignorant whether the Jews of the present day believe in the immortality of man. I cannot perceive how the observation of Lamech on his son Noah applies, when he says, "This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." We shall find that Noah was but a poor comfort on this head, as the flood which Noah is said to survive, must have been a greater curse than ever befel the earth before.

I proceed with the 6th chapter. "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose." What

are we to consider the sons of God to be, kings, or priests? For these take more liberties, and have more influence on the daughters of men than any other creatures that my imagination can embrace. "And the Lord said, my spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he is also flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years." I can make nothing of this verse. "There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children unto them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown." This verse should be removed from the Bible into the History of Jack the Giant Killer. I can find no application for it here. The Pagan world had a much better tale about the giants of the earth throwing great mountains at the gods in the heaven, and of a long and bloody war between them. "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. And the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord." What will the predestinarians say to this paragraph? Here we find that the Jewish Deity had not the least foresight of what the character of man would be; and he grieved at heart when he found them to be different to what he expected. How capricious must that revenge have been, to destroy the innocent animal with the guilty? But we shall find that this is the common trait both with the Jews and their Deity. "These are the generations of Noah:—Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and behold I will destroy them with the earth." We find the earth is not yet destroyed! I could wish we had a similar power to root out the corruptions of the English House of Commons, the corruptions of our courts of law, and the corruptions of the established church.

"Make thee an ark of Gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof, with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it." I wonder that some of our religious merchants and mariners do not build a vessel similar to this description of the ark. I should think that it would be more efficacious

against drowning, than even a child's caul. "And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth shall die. But with thee will I establish my covenant, and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons wives with thee. And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, and of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take unto thee of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee and for them. Thus did Noah, according to all that God commanded him, so did he." Can it be imagined for a moment that every species of insect and animal could have been stowed into an ark of the dimensions described, with sufficient food to serve the whole upwards of six months! Another natural objection arises, we do not find any means of airing the ark, such a number of animals could not exist together without a continued current of air. Again, where was the line drawn with respect to insects and animalcules, we find all living and animate matter abound with them, down to a degree that their diminutive size render them imperceptible to the human sight. Computations have been made to shew that the ark could not contain the animals, much more the necessary food for them. A couple of mammoth's would almost have filled it. But it is all found in the holy writ, and that is a sufficient ground to set aside all objections and even scruples. Nothing is impossible with God. Say all religionists from the followers of Mahomet, down to the free-thinking Christian. I say nothing unnatural proceeded from God. There is scarce any thing that deserves a reflection in this chapter, it is a strange medley about "the sons of God." "The Giants." "The repenting God." "The cruel and revengeful God." "The ark to contain a pair of every living creatures, with but one door and one window." We ought to have been informed also of the *etiquette* observed in the arrangement within the ark, and the goings in and out. I presume there was more jealousy on this head than is generally found in our modern fashionable routs, and no small degree of confusion in satisfying all these animals as to their right of precedency. Talk of the confusion of Babel, it could have been nothing equal to that of Noah with his companions in the ark. The patience of Job will not bear to be mentioned with the patience Noah must have possessed. I leave all further observations on this chapter to priests and others who admire the wisdom of Providence.

TRIALS FOR LIBEL, SEDITION AND BLASPHEMY!!!

Last week the trials of Mr. Cahuac, of Blackman Street, and Mr. Francis, of Union Street, Borough, came on at Kingston, before the Chief Baron Richards, on a charge of selling a number of the Republican. The verdict was guilty against both. The conduct of the Chief Baron to one of the juries was highly reprehensible. Mr. Francis is quite an old and ailing man, and scarcely able to earn enough in his profession, as a shoemaker, to support himself and wife, he was consequently in the habit of selling political pamphlets to complete the means of living without parochial aid. His defence was, that he was a general vender of political pamphlets, and did not read them to know what they contained, as his whole time was occupied in doing what little work at his business his strength would admit of. The jury found him guilty of selling the pamphlet, which he did not deny, but took the circumstances into consideration, and wished to have him recommended to mercy, or, in other words, that Mr. Francis was not a person that merited punishment for what he had done. The Chief Baron very angrily bid them re-consider their recommendation: the Jury did re-consider, and very properly told his lordship they were not inclined to alter their opinions. Then he observed, you will send such publications among the most ignorant of the community. It is much to be lamented that the jury had not given him a proper reprimand for such conduct. A jury should recollect that it is they who form a court of justice, and that the judge is but an officer of that court under their direction. The judge ought not to insult a jury with any observations after they have given their verdict. If ever I was to be on a jury in such an instance, I would order him to be silent, if he offered any observations on the verdict. The verdict of a jury should be sacred at the moment of its delivery: a subsequent question might arise, whether they have been legally and fairly placed in the jury box, but even this is not a subject for discussion when the verdict is given. The jury in the case of Francis saw that it was a most inconsistent thing to give a man two or three years imprisonment for selling a twopenny pamphlet which produced him the profit of an halfpenny only. Let the expensive nature of a prosecution be considered, and then let any man say whether it does not require more than ordinary virtue and resolution to become a vender of such pamphlets. For my own part, I consider the Attorney General would have acted much more manly if he had kept me in London and tried me as the author, printer, and publisher of those pamphlets, before he tried the retailers of them. It is evident that his object is merely to get all venders of those pamphlets into a prison, by what means is with him not the question. The Court of King's Bench will have half the Easter term occupied in passing sentence on CONSPIRATORS, BLASPHEMERS, and SEDITIOUS LIBELLERS!!!

THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, (Continued from page 432.)

After the success of the Persian war had raised the hopes and the reputation of Galerius, he passed a winter with Diocletian in the palace of Nicomedia; and the fate of Christianity became the object of their secret consultations.* The experienced emperor was still inclined to pursue measures of lenity; and though he readily consented to exclude the Christians from holding any employments in the household or the army, he urged in the strongest terms the danger, as well as cruelty of shedding the blood of those deluded fanatics. Galerius at length extorted from him the permission of summoning a council, composed of a few persons the most distinguished in the civil and military departments of the state. The important question was agitated in their presence; and those ambitious courtiers easily discerned, that it was incumbent on them to second, by their eloquence, the importunate violence of the Cæsar. It may be presumed, that they insisted on every topic which might interest the pride, the piety, or the fears, of their sovereign, in the destruction of Christianity. Perhaps they represented, that the glorious work of the deliverance of the empire was left imperfect, as long as an independent people was permitted to subsist and multiply in the heart of the provinces. The Christians (it might speciously be alleged), renouncing the gods and institutions of Rome, had constituted a distinct republic, which might yet be suppressed before it had acquired any military force; but which was already governed by its own laws and magistrates, was possessed of a public treasure, and was intimately connected, in all its parts, by the frequent assemblies of the bishops, to whose decrees, their numerous and opulent congregations, yielded an implicit obedience. Arguments like these may seem to have determined the reluctant mind of Diocletian to embrace a new system of persecution: but though we may suspect, it is not in our power to relate the secret intrigues of the palace, the private views and resentments, the jea-

* De M. P. c. 11. Lactantius (or whoever was the author of this little treatise) was, at that time, an inhabitant of Nicomedia; but it seems difficult to conceive how he could acquire so accurate a knowledge of what passed in the imperial cabinet.

lousy of women or eunuchs, and all those trifling but decisive causes which so often influence the fate of empires, and the councils of the wisest monarchs.*

The pleasure of the emperors was at length signified to the Christians, who, during the course of this melancholy winter, had expected, with anxiety, the result of so many secret consultations. The twenty-third of February, which coincided with the Roman festival of the Terminalia,† was appointed (whether from accident or design) to set bounds to the progress of Christianity. At the earliest dawn of day, the prætorian prefect,‡ accompanied by several generals, tribunes, and officers of the revenue, repaired to the principal church of Nicomedia, which was situated on an eminence in the most populous and beautiful part of the city. The doors were instantly broke open: they rushed into the sanctuary; and as they searched in vain for some visible object of worship, they were obliged to content themselves with committing to the flames the volumes of holy scripture. The ministers of Diocletian were followed by a numerous body of guards and pioneers, who marched in order of battle, and were provided with all the instruments used in the destruction of fortified cities. By their incessant labour, a sacred edifice, which towered above the imperial palace, and had long excited the indignation and envy of the gentiles, was in a few hours levelled with the ground.§

The next day the general edict of persecution was published;|| and though Diocletian, still averse to the effusion of blood, had mo-

* The only circumstance which we can discover, is the devotion and jealousy of the mother of Galerius. She is described by Lactantius, as *Deorum montium cultrix; mulier admodum superstitiosa*. She had a great influence over her son, and was offended by the disregard of some of her Christian servants.

† The worship and festival of the god Terminus, are elegantly illustrated by M. de Boze, *Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. 1. p. 50.

‡ In our only ms. of Lactantius, we read *profectus*; but reason, and the authority of all the critics, allow us, instead of that word, which destroys the sense of the passage, to substitute *præfectus*.

§ Lactantius de M. P. c. 12, gives a very lively picture of the destruction of the church.

|| Mosheim (p. 922-926), from many scattered passages of Lactantius and Eusebius, has collected a very just and accurate notion of this edict; though he sometimes deviates into conjecture and refinement.

derated the fury of Galerius, who proposed that every one refusing to offer sacrifice, should immediately be burnt alive, the penalties inflicted on the obstinacy of the Christians might be deemed sufficiently rigorous and effectual. It was enacted, that their churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should be demolished to their foundations; and the punishment of death was denounced against all who should presume to hold any secret assemblies for the purpose of religious worship. The philosophers, who now assumed the unworthy office of directing the blind zeal of persecution, had diligently studied the nature and genius of the Christian religion; and as they were not ignorant that the speculative doctrines of the faith were supposed to be contained in the writings of the prophets, of the evangelists, and of the apostles, they most probably suggested the order, that the bishops and presbyters should deliver all their sacred books into the hands of the magistrates, who were commanded, under the severest penalties, to burn them in a public and solemn manner. By the same edict, the property of the church was at once confiscated; and the several parts of which it might consist were either sold to the highest bidder, united to the imperial domain, bestowed on the cities and corporations, or granted to the solicitations of rapacious courtiers. After taking such effectual measures to abolish the worship, and to dissolve the government, of the Christians, it was thought necessary to subject to the most intolerable hardships the condition of those perverse individuals who should still reject the religion of nature, of Rome, and of their ancestors. Persons of a liberal birth were declared incapable of holding any honours or employments; slaves were for ever deprived of the hopes of freedom; and the whole body of the people were put out of the protection of the law. The judges were authorised to hear and to determine every action that was brought against a Christian; but the Christians were not permitted to complain of any injury which they themselves had suffered: and thus those unfortunate sectaries were exposed to the severity, while they were excluded from the benefits, of public justice. This new species of martyrdom, so painful and lingering, so obscure and ignominious, was, perhaps, the most proper to weary the constancy of the faithful; nor can it be doubted that the passions and interests of mankind

were disposed on this occasion to second the designs of the emperors. But the policy of a well-ordered government must sometimes have interposed in behalf of the oppressed Christians; nor was it possible for the Roman princes entirely to remove the apprehension of punishment, or to connive at every act of fraud and violence, without exposing their own authority and the rest of their subjects to the most alarming dangers.*

This edict was scarcely exhibited to the public view, in the most conspicuous place of Nicomedia, before it was torn down by the hands of a Christian, who expressed, at the same time, by the bitterest invectives, his contempt as well as abhorrence for such impious and tyrannical governors. His offence, according to the mildest laws, amounted to treason, and deserved death: and if it be true that he was a person of rank and education, those circumstances could serve only to aggravate his guilt. He was burnt, or rather roasted, by a slow fire; and his executioners, zealous to revenge the personal insult which had been offered to the emperors, exhausted every refinement of cruelty, without being able to subdue his patience, or to alter the steady and insulting smile which in his dying agonies he still preserved in his countenance. The Christians, though they confessed that his conduct had not been strictly conformable to the laws of prudence, admired the divine fervour of his zeal; and the excessive commendations which they lavished on the memory of their hero and martyr contributed to fix a deep impression of terror and hatred in the mind of Diocletian.†

His fears were soon alarmed by the view of a danger from which he very narrowly escaped. Within fifteen days the palace of Nicomedia, and even the bedchamber of Diocletian, were twice in flames; and though both times they were extinguished without any material damage, the singular repetition of the fire was justly considered as an

* Many ages afterwards, Edward I, practised, with great success, the same mode of persecution against the clergy of England. See Hume's History of England, vol. ii, p. 300, last 4to edition.

† Lactantius only calls him quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo, &c. c. 12. Eusebius (l. viii, c. 5) adorns him with secular honours. Neither have condescended to mention his name; but the Greeks celebrate his memory under that of John. See Tillemont, Memoires Ecclesiastiques, tom. v, part ii, p. 320.

evident proof that it had not been the effect of chance or negligence. The suspicion naturally fell on the Christians; and it was suggested with some degree of probability, that those desperate fanatics, provoked by their present sufferings, and apprehensive of impending calamities, had entered into a conspiracy with their faithful brethren, the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of two emperors, whom they detested as the irreconcilable enemies of the church of God. Jealousy and resentment prevailed in every breast, but especially in that of Diocletian. A great number of persons, distinguished either by the offices which they had filled, or by the favour which they had enjoyed, were thrown into prison. Every mode of torture was put in practice, and the court, as well as city, was polluted with many bloody executions;* but as it was found impossible to extort any discovery of this mysterious transaction, it seems incumbent on us either to presume the innocence, or to admire the resolution, of the sufferers. A few days afterwards Galerius hastily withdrew himself from Nicomedia, declaring, that if he delayed his departure from that devoted palace, he should fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Christians. The ecclesiastical historians, from whom alone we derive a partial and imperfect knowledge of this persecution, are at a loss how to account for the fears and dangers of the emperors. Two of these writers, a prince and a rhetorician, were eye-witnesses of the fire of Nicomedia. The one ascribes it to lightning, and the divine wrath; the other affirms, that it was kindled by the malice of Galerius himself.†

As the edict against the Christians was designed for a general law of the whole empire, and as Diocletian and Galerius, though they might not wait for the consent, were assured of the concurrence, of the western princes, it would appear more consonant to our ideas of policy, that the governors of all the provinces should have received

* Lactantius de P. M. c. 13, 14. Potentissimi quondam eunuchi necati, per quos palatium et ipse constabat. Eusebius (i. viii, c. 6) mentions the cruel extortions of the eunuchs, Gorgonius and Doretheus, and of Anthimius, bishop of Nicomedia; and both those writers describe, in a vague but tragical manner, the horrid scenes which were acted even in the imperial presence.

† See Lactantius, Eusebius, and Constantine, ad Cœtum Sanctorum, c. 25. Eusebius confesses his ignorance of the cause of the fire.

secret instructions to publish, on one and the same day, this declaration of war within their respective departments. It was at least to be expected, that the convenience of the public highways and established posts would have enabled the emperors to transmit their orders with the utmost dispatch from the palace of Nicomedia to the extremities of the Roman world; and that they would not have suffered fifty days to elapse before the edict was published in Syria, and near four months before it was signified to the cities of Africa.* This delay may perhaps be imputed to the cautious temper of Diocletian, who had yielded a reluctant consent to the measures of persecution, and who was desirous of trying the experiment under his more immediate eye, before he gave way to the disorders and discontent which it must inevitably occasion in the distant provinces. At first, indeed, the magistrates were restrained from the effusion of blood: but the use of every other severity was permitted, and even recommended, to their zeal; nor could the Christians, though they cheerfully resigned the ornaments of their churches, resolve to interrupt their religious assemblies, or to deliver their sacred books to the flames. The pious obstinacy of Felix, an African bishop, appears to have embarrassed the subordinate ministers of the government. The curator of his city sent him in chains to the proconsul. The proconsul transmitted him to the prætorian prefect of Italy; and Felix, who disdained even to give an evasive answer, was at length beheaded at Venusia, in Lucania, a place on which the birth of Horace has conferred fame.† This precedent, and perhaps some imperial rescript, which was issued in consequence of it, appeared to authorise the governors of provinces, in punishing with death the refusal of the Christians to deliver up their sacred books. There were undoubtedly many persons who embraced this opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom; but there were likewise too many who purchased an ignominious life, by discovering and betraying the holy scripture into the hands of infidels. A great number even of bishops and presbyters acquired, by this criminal compliance, the op-

* Tillemont, *Memoires Ecclesiast.* tom. v, part i, p. 43.

† See the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart, p. 353: those of Felix of Thibara, or Tibiur, appear much less corrupted than in the other editions, which afford a lively specimen of legendary licence.

probrious epithet of *traitors*; and their offence was productive of much present scandal, and of much future discord, in the African church.*

The copies, as well as the versions, of scripture were already so multiplied in the empire, that the most severe inquisition could no longer be attended with any fatal consequences; and even the sacrifice of those volumes, which, in every congregation, were preserved for public use, required the consent of some treacherous and unworthy Christians. But the ruin of the churches was easily effected by the authority of the government, and by the labour of the pagans. In some provinces, however, the magistrates contented themselves with shutting up the places of religious worship. In others, they more literally complied with the terms of the edict; and after taking away the doors, the benches, and the pulpit, which they burnt, as it were in a funeral pile, they completely demolished the remainder of the edifice.† It is perhaps to this melancholy occasion, that we should apply a very remarkable story, which is related with so many circumstances of variety and improbability, that it serves rather to excite than to satisfy our curiosity. In a small town in Phrygia, of whose name as well as situation we are left ignorant, it should seem that the magistrates and the body of the people had embraced the Christian faith; and as some resistance might be apprehended to the execution of the edict, the governor of the province was supported by a numerous detachment of legionaries. On their approach the citizens threw themselves into the church, with the resolution either of defending by arms that sacred edifice, or of perishing in its ruins. They indignantly rejected the notice and permission which was given to them, to retire, till the soldiers, provoked by their obstinate refusal, set fire to the building on all sides, and consumed

* See the first book of Optatus of Milevius against the donatists at Paris, 1700. Edit. Dupin. He lived under the reign of Valens.

† The ancient monuments, published at the end of Optatus, p. 261, &c. describe, in a very circumstantial manner, the proceedings of the governors in the destruction of churches. They made a minute inventory of the plate, &c. which they found in them. That of the church of Cirta, in Numidia, is still extant. It consisted of two chalices of gold, and six of silver; six urns, one kettle, seven lamps, all likewise of silver; besides a large quantity of brass utensils, and wearing apparel.

by this extraordinary kind of martyrdom, a great number of Phrygians, with their wives and children.*

Some slight disturbances, though they were suppressed, almost as soon as excited, in Syria and the frontiers of Armenia, afforded the enemies of the church a very plausible occasion to insinuate, that those troubles had been secretly fomented by the intrigues of the bishops, who had already forgotten their ostentatious professions of passive and unlimited obedience.† The resentment, or the fears of Diocletian, at length transported him beyond the bounds of moderation, which he had hitherto preserved, and he declared, in a series of cruel edicts, his intention of abolishing the Christian name. By the first of these edicts, the governors of the provinces were directed to apprehend all persons of the ecclesiastical order; and the prisons destined for the vilest criminals were soon filled with a multitude of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers and exorcists. By a second edict, the magistrates were commanded to employ every method of severity, which might reclaim them from their odious superstition, and oblige them to return to the established worship of the gods. This rigorous order was extended, by a subsequent edict, to the whole body of Christians, who were exposed to a violent and general persecution.‡ Instead of those salutary restraints which had required the direct and solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as well as the interest of the imperial officers to discover, to pursue, and to torment, the most ob-

* Lactantius (*Institut. Divin.* v. 11) confines the calamity to the *conventiculum*, with its congregation. Eusebius (viii, 11) extends it to a whole city, and introduces something very like a regular siege. His ancient Latin translator, Rufinus, adds the important circumstance of the permission given to the inhabitants of retiring from thence. As Phrygia reached to the confines of Isauria, it is possible that the restless temper of those independent barbarians may have contributed to this misfortune.

† Eusebius, l. viii, c. 6. M. de Valois (with some probability) thinks that he has discovered the Syrian rebellion in an oration of Libanius; and that it was a rash attempt of the tribune Eugenius, who with only five hundred men seized Antioch, and might perhaps allure the Christians by the promise of religious toleration. From Eusebius (l. ix, c. 8), as well as from Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armen.* l. ii, c. 77, &c.) it may be inferred, that Christianity was already introduced into Armenia.

‡ See Mosheim, p. 938. The text of Eusebius very plainly shews that the governors, whose powers were enlarged, not restrained, by the new laws, could punish with death the most obstinate Christians, as an example to their brethren.

noxious amongst the faithful. Heavy penalties were denounced against all who should presume to save a proscribed sectary from the just indignation of the gods, and of the emperors. Yet not withstanding the severity of this law, the virtuous courage of many of the pagans, in concealing their friends or relations, affords an honourable proof, that the rage of superstition had not extinguished in their minds the sentiments of nature and humanity.*

Diocletian had no sooner published his edicts against the Christians, than, as if he had been desirous of committing to other hands the work of persecution, he divested himself of the imperial purple. The character and situation of his colleagues and successors sometimes urged them to enforce, and sometimes inclined them to suspend, the execution of these rigorous laws; nor can we acquire a just and distinct idea of this important period of ecclesiastical history, unless we separately consider the state of Christianity, in the different parts of the empire, during the space of ten years, which elapsed between the first edicts of Diocletian, and the final peace of the church.

The mild and humane temper of Constantius was averse to the oppression of any part of his subjects. The principal offices of his palace were exercised by Christians. He loved their persons, esteemed their fidelity, and entertained not any dislike to their religious principles. But as long as Constantius remained in the subordinate station of Cæsar, it was not in his power openly to reject the edicts of Diocletian, or to disobey the commands of Maximin. His authority contributed, however, to alleviate the sufferings which he pitied and abhorred. He consented, with reluctance, to the ruin of the churches; but he ventured to protect the Christians themselves from the fury of the populace, and from the rigour of the laws. The provinces of Gaul (under which we may probably include those of Britain) were indebted for the singular tranquillity which they enjoyed, to the gentle interposition of their sovereign.† But Datianus, the

* Athanasius, p. 833, ap. Tillemont, *Mem. Ecclesiast.* tom. v, part i. p. 96.

† Eusebius, l. viii, c. 13. Lactantius de P. M. c. 15. Dodwell (*Dissertat. Cyprian.* xi, 75) represents them as inconsistent with each other. But the former evidently speaks of Constantius in the station of Cæsar, and the latter of the same prince in the rank of Augustus.

president or governor of Spain, actuated either by zeal or policy, chose rather to execute the public edicts of the emperors, than to understand the secret intentions of Constantius; and it can scarcely be doubted, that his provincial administration was stained with the blood of a few martyrs.* The elevation of Constantius to the supreme and independent dignity of Augustus gave a free scope to the exercise of his virtues; and the shortness of his reign did not prevent him from establishing a system of toleration, of which he left the precept and the example to his son Constantine. His fortunate son, from the first moment of his accession, declaring himself the protector of the church, at length deserved the appellation of the first emperor who publicly professed and established the Christian religion. The motives of his conversion, as they may variously be deduced from benevolence, from policy, from conviction, or from remorse; and the progress of the revolution, which under his powerful influence, and that of his sons, rendered Christianity the reigning religion of the Roman empire, will form a very interesting and important chapter in the third volume of this history. At present it may be sufficient to observe, that every victory of Constantine was productive of some relief or benefit to the church.

The provinces of Italy and Africa experienced a short but violent persecution. The rigorous edicts of Diocletian were strictly and cheerfully executed by his associate Maximin, who had long hated the Christians, and who delighted in acts of blood and violence. In the autumn of the first year of the persecution, the two emperors met at Rome to celebrate their triumph; several oppressive laws appear to have issued from their secret consultations, and the diligence of the magistrates was animated by the presence of their sovereigns. After Diocletian had divested himself of the purple, Italy and Africa

* Datianus is mentioned in Gruters inscriptions, as having determined the limits between the territories of Pax Julia, and those of Ebora, both cities in the southern part of Lusitania. If we recollect the neighbourhood of those places to Cape St. Vincent, we may suspect that the celebrated deacon and martyr of that name has been inaccurately assigned by Prudentius, &c. to Saragossa, or Valentia. See the pompous history of his sufferings, in the *Memoires de Tillemont*, tom. v, part ii, p. 58 85. Some critics are of opinion, that the department of Constantius; as Cæsar, did not include Spain, which still continued under the immediate jurisdiction of Maximian.

were administered under the name of Severus, and were exposed, without defence, to the implacable resentment of his master Galerius. Among the martyrs of Rome, Adauctus deserves the notice of posterity. He was of a noble family in Italy, and had raised himself, through the successive honours of the palace, to the important office of treasurer of the private demesnes. Adauctus is the more remarkable for being the only person of rank and distinction who appears to have suffered death, during the whole course of this general persecution.*

The revolt of Maxentius immediately restored peace to the churches of Italy and Africa ; and the same tyrant who oppressed every other class of his subjects shewed himself just, humane, and even partial, towards the afflicted christians. He depended on their gratitude and affection, and very naturally presumed, that the injuries which they had suffered, and the dangers which they still apprehended from his most inveterate enemy, would secure the fidelity of a party already considerable by their numbers and opulence.† Even the conduct of Maxentius towards the bishops of Rome and Carthage may be considered as the proof of his toleration, since it is probable that the most orthodox princes would adopt the same measures with regard to their established clergy. Marcellus, the former of those prelates had thrown the capitol into confusion, by the severe penance which he imposed on a great number of christians, who, during the late persecution, had renounced or dissembled their religion. The rage of faction broke out in frequent and violent seditions ; the blood of the faithful was shed by each other's hands ; and the exile of Marcellus, whose prudence seems to have been less eminent than his zeal, was found to be the only measure capable of restoring peace to the distracted church of Rome.‡ The behaviour of Mensurius, bishop

* Eusebius, l. viii, c. 11. Gruter, Inscript. p. 1171. No. 18. Rufinus has mistaken the office of Adauctus, as well as the place of his martyrdom.

† Eusebius, l. viii, c. 14. But as Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, it suited the purpose of Lactantius, to place his death among those of the persecutors.

‡ The epitaph of Marcellus is to be found in Gruter ; Inscript, p. 1172. No. 9, and it contains all that we know of his history. Marcellinus and Marcellus, whose names follow in the list of popes, are supposed by many

of Carthage, appears to have been still more reprehensible. A deacon of that city had published a libel against the emperor. The offender took refuge in the episcopal palace; and though it was somewhat early to advance any claims of ecclesiastical immunities, the bishop refused to deliver him up to the officers of justice. For this treasonable resistance, Mensurius was summoned to the court, and instead of receiving a legal sentence of death or banishment, he was permitted, after a short examination, to return to his diocese.* Such was the happy condition of the Christian subjects of Maxentius, that whenever they were desirous of procuring for their own use any bodies of martyrs, they were obliged to purchase them from the most distant provinces of the East. A story is related of Aglae, a Roman lady, descended from a consular family, and possessed of so ample an estate, that it required the management of seventy-three stewards. Among these, Boniface was the favourite of his mistress; and as Aglae mixed love with devotion, it is reported that he was admitted to share her bed. Her fortune enabled her to gratify the pious desire of obtaining some sacred relics from the East. She intrusted Boniface with a considerable sum of gold, and a large quantity of aromatics; and her lover, attended by twelve horsemen and three covered chariots, undertook a remote pilgrimage, as far as Tarsus in Cilicia. †

The sanguinary temper of Galerius, the first and principal author of the persecution, was formidable to those Christians, whom their misfortunes had placed within the limits of his dominions; and it

critics to be different persons; but the learned Abbé de Longuerue was convinced that they were one and the same.

Veridicus rector lapsis quia crimina fieri
Prædixit miseris, fuit, omnibus hostis amarus.
Hinc furor, hinc odium; sequitur discordia, lites,
Seditio, cædes: solvuntur fœdera pacis.
Crimen ob alterius, Christum qui in pace negavit
Finibus expulsus patris est feritate tyranni.
Hæc breviter Damasus voluit comperta referre:
Marcelli populus meritum cognoscere posset.

We may observe that Damasus was made bishop of Rome, A. D. 366.

* Optatus contr. Donatist. l. i, c. 17, 18.

† The acts of the passion of St. Boniface, which abound in miracles and declamation, are published by Ruinart (p. 283-291), both in Greek and Latin, from the authority of very ancient manuscripts.

may fairly be presumed, that many persons of a middle rank, who were not confined by the chains either of wealth or of poverty, very frequently deserted their native country, and sought a refuge in the milder climate of the West. As long as he commanded only the armies and provinces of Illyricum, he could with difficulty either find or make a considerable number of martyrs, in a warlike country, which had entertained the missionaries of the gospel with more coldness and reluctance than any other part of the empire.* But when Galerius had obtained the supreme power and the government of the East, he indulged in their fullest extent his zeal and cruelty, not only in the provinces of Thrace and Asia, which acknowledged his immediate jurisdiction, but in those of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where Maximin gratified his own inclination, by yielding a rigorous obedience to the stern commands of his benefactor.† The frequent disappointments of his ambitious views, the experience of six years of persecution, and the salutary reflections which a lingering and painful distemper suggested to the mind of Galerius, at length convinced him that the most violent efforts of despotism are insufficient to extirpate a whole people, or to subdue their religious prejudices. Desirous of repairing the mischief that he had occasioned, he published in his own name, and in those of Licinius and Constantine, a general edict, which, after a pompous recital of the imperial titles, proceeded in the following manner:

"Among the important cares which have occupied our mind for
 "the utility and preservation of the empire, it was our intention to
 "correct and re-establish all things according to the ancient laws and
 "public discipline of the Romans. We were particularly desirous
 "of reclaiming into the way of reason and nature the deluded Chris-

* During the four first centuries, there exist few traces of either bishops or bishoprics in the western Illyricum. It has been thought probable that the primate of Milan extended his jurisdiction over Sirmium, the capital of that great province. See the *Geographia Sacra* of Charles de St. Paul, p. 68-76, with the observations of Lucas Holstenius.

† The eighth book of Eusebius, as well as the supplement concerning the martyrs of Palestine, principally relate to the persecution of Galerius and Maximin. The general lamentations with which Lactantius opens the fifth book of his *Divine Institutions* allude to their cruelty.

" tians who had renounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by
 " their fathers; and presumptuously despising the practice of anti-
 " quity, had invented extravagant laws and opinions according to
 " the dictates of their fancy, and had collected a various society from
 " the different provinces of our empire. The edicts which we have
 " published to enforce the worship of the gods having exposed many
 " of the Christians to danger and distress, many having suffered
 " death, and many more, who still persist in their impious folly, being
 " left destitute of *any* public exercise of religion, we are disposed to
 " extend to those unhappy men the effects of our wonted clemency.
 " We permit them therefore freely to profess their private opinions,
 " and to assemble in their conventicles without fear or molestation,
 " provided always that they preserve a due respect to the established
 " laws and government. By another rescript we shall signify our in-
 " tentions to the judges and magistrates; and we hope that our in-
 " dulgence will engage the Christians to offer up their prayers to the
 " deity whom they adore, for our safety and prosperity, for their own,
 " and for that of the republic."* It is not usually in the language
 of edicts and manifestos that we should search for the real charac-
 ter or the secret motives of princes; but as these were the words of
 a dying emperor, his situation, perhaps, may be admitted as a pledge
 of his sincerity.

When Galerius subscribed this edict of toleration, he was well
 assured that Licinius would readily comply with the inclinations of
 his friend and benefactor, and that any measures in favour of the
 Christians would obtain the approbation of Constantine; but the
 emperor would not venture to insert in the preamble the name of
 Maximin, whose consent was of the greatest importance, and who
 succeeded a few days afterwards to the provinces of Asia. In the
 first six months, however, of his new reign, Maximin affected to
 adopt the prudent councils of his predecessor; and though he never
 condescended to secure the tranquillity of the church by a public
 edict, Sabinus, his prætorian prefect, addressed a circular letter to all

* Eusebius (l. viii, c. 17) has given us a Greek version, and Lactan-
 tius (de M. P. c. 31) the Latin original, of this memorable edict. Neither
 of these writers seems to recollect how directly it contradicts whatever
 they have just affirmed of the remorse and repentance of Galerius.

The governors and magistrates of the provinces, expatiating on the imperial clemency, acknowledging the invincible obstinacy of the Christians, and directing the officers of justice to cease their ineffectual prosecutions, and to connive at the secret assemblies of those enthusiasts. In consequence of these orders, great numbers of Christians were released from prison, or delivered from the mines. The confessors, singing hymns of triumph returned into their own countries; and those who had yielded to the violence of the tempest solicited with tears of repentance their re-admission into the bosom of the church.*

But this treacherous calm was of short duration; nor could the Christians of the East place any confidence in the character of their sovereign. Cruelty and superstition were the ruling passions of the soul of Maximin. The former suggested the means, the latter pointed out the objects, of persecution. The emperor was devoted to the worship of the gods, to the study of magic, and to the belief of oracles. The prophets or philosophers, whom he revered as the favourites of heaven, were frequently raised to the government of provinces, and admitted into his most secret councils. They easily convinced him, that the Christians had been indebted for their victories to their regular discipline, and that the weakness of polytheism had principally flowed from a want of union and subordination among the ministers of religion. A system of government was therefore instituted, which was evidently copied from the policy of the church. In all the great cities of the empire, the temples were repaired and beautified by the order of Maximin; and the officiating priests of the various deities were subjected to the authority of a superior pontiff, destined to oppose the bishop, and to promote the cause of paganism. These pontiffs, acknowledged, in their turn the supreme jurisdiction of the metropolitans or high priests of the province, who acted as the immediate vicegerents of the emperor himself. A white robe was the ensign of their dignity; and these new prelates were carefully selected from the most noble and opulent families. By the influence of the magistrates, and of the sacerdotal order, a great number of dutiful addresses were obtained, particularly from the cities of Nicomedia, Antioch, and Tyre, which artfully represented the

* Eusebius, l. ix, c, 1. He inserts the epistle of the prefect.

well known intentions of the court as the general sense of the people, solicited the emperor to consult the laws of justice rather than the dictates of his clemency; expressed their abhorrence of the Christians, and humbly prayed that those impious sectaries might at least be excluded from the limits of their respective territories. The answer of Maximin to the address which he obtained from the citizens of Tyre is still extant. He praises their zeal and devotion in terms of the highest satisfaction, descants on the obstinate impiety of the Christians, and betrays, by the readiness with which he consents to their banishment, that he considered himself as receiving, rather than as conferring an obligation. The priests as well as the magistrates were empowered to enforce the execution of his edicts, which were engraved on tables of brass; and though it was recommended to them to avoid the effusion of blood, the most cruel and ignominious punishments were inflicted on the refractory christians.*

The Asiatic Christians had every thing to dread from the severity of a bigotted monarch, who prepared his measures of violence with such deliberate policy. But a few months had scarcely elapsed, before the edicts published by the western emperors obliged Maximin to suspend the prosecution of his designs: the civil war which he so rashly undertook against Licinius employed all his attention; and the defeat and death of Maximin soon delivered the church from the last and most implacable of her enemies.†

In this general view of the persecution, which was first authorised by the edicts of Diocletian, I have purposely refrained from describing the particular sufferings and death of the Christian martyrs. It would have been an easy task, from the history of Eusebius, from the declamations of Lactantius, and from the most ancient acts, to collect a long series of horrid and disgusting pictures, and to fill many pages with racks and scourges, with iron hooks, and red-hot beds, and with all the variety of tortures which fire and steel, savage beasts, and more savage executioners, could inflict on the human body.

* See Eusebius l. viii, c. 14, l. ix, c. 2-8. Lactantius de M. P. c. 36. These writers agree in representing the arts of Maximin; but the former relates to the execution of several martyrs, while the latter expressly affirms, *occidi servos Dei vetuit*.

† A few days before his death, he published a very ample edict of toleration, in which he imputes all the severities which the Christians suffered to the judges and governors, who had misunderstood his intentions. See the Edict. in Eusebius, l. ix, c. 10.